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ORIGIN ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 NEA-10 AF-10 ACDA-19 IO-14 AID-20 EB-11 EUR-25

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DRAFTED BY ARA/LA-PLC:JLMARTIN:LG APPROVED BY ARA/LA-PLC:RJBLOOMFIELD S/S:MR. GAMMON S: MR.BREMER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS

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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR OCON

SUBJECT: MFM: SUMMARY OF CLOSED SESSIONS

- 1. SECOND MFM SESSION, THURSDAY, APRIL 18, BEGAN 10:30 A.M. SECRETARY KISSINGER EXPLAINED NEED TO LEAVE MEETING AT 11:30 FOR PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH EGYPTIAN FM. ANSWERING INTER-VENTIONS BY FM AZEREDO (BRAZIL), SECRETARY KISSINGER SUGGESTED DISCUSSION FIRST OF AGENDA ITEM ON U.S.-LA RELATIONS AND THEN CONSIDERATION OF COMMUNIQUE WHILE HE ABSENT AND LATER AT LUNCH.
- 2. SPOKESMAN ON U.S.-LA RELATIONS WAS FM VIGNES (ARGENTINA).

A. DECLARATION OF TLATELOLCO REFERS TO NEED FOR RELATIONS TO BE IN CONTEXT TODAY'S WORLD AND FOR NATIONS TO BE FREE TO CHOOSE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS.

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B- ONE OF OUR PROBLEMS IS CUBA. GOA WISHES EXPRESS CON-

CERN AND RAISE THIS ISSUE FOR FMS TO CONSIDER. TWELVE YEARS SINCE CUBA EXCLUDED, AND TEN YEARS SINCE ACTION OF (EMBARGO). WE DO NOT WISH TO REFER TO SEPARAION OF CUBA FROM OAS. OUR CONCERN IS WITH ACTIONS RESTRICTING ECONOMIC, DIPLOMATIC, AND CONSULAR RELATIONS. SEVERAL LA COUNTRIES HAVE SOUGHT SOLUTIONS BILATERALLY.

- C. GOA PROPOSES WE STUDY THIS SITUATION. WE BELIEVE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS USEFUL AT THIS HIGH LEVEL. WE KNOW LEGAL SOLUTION IS IN OAS, BUT WE HAVE FAITH IN THIS NEW FRAMEWORK DEVELOPED AT MEXICO CITY AND SINCE. GOA FIRMLY RESOLVED PROMOTE TIMELY SOLUTION CUBA'S ISOLATION. IT IS NECESSARY FOR OUR SYSTEM AND APPROPRIATE NOW.
- D. CUBA BY RIGHT IS PART OF AMERICA; ISOLATION IS ABNORMAL; IN APRIL 1973 WE AGREED PLURALITY OF IDEOLOGIES IS VALID PREMISE; CUBA AT PRESENT NO LONGER DANGER TO PEACE AND SECURITY; THIS FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS AND RESOLUTION OF PROBLEM IS USEFUL.
- E. WE HAVE ATTEMPTED SPEAK IN NEW SPIRIT. A PROBLEM EXISTS AND WE MUST FACE IT. WE DO NOT WANT TO IMPOSE OUR IDEAS ON OTHERS OR VICE VERSA.
- 3. FM RABASA (MEXICO): SPIRIT OF TLATELOLCO VARIOUSLY DEFINED BUT MOST IMPORTANT IS NO SUBORDINATION, NO CONFRONTATION. WE ARE NOT CASTRATED IN OUR THINKING. WE NOT GOING TO PLAY OSTRICH. MONTH AGO I INVITED TO CUBA. I TALKED WITH PRES. DORTICOS, PREMIER CASTRO, FM ROA. TALKS FAR-RANGING AND SINCERE.
- A. RE OAS, CASTRO MADE CLEAR CUBA WOULD NOT IN ANY WAY OR INSTANCE AGREE REENTER OAS. I EXPLAINED TO CASTRO GENESIS OF SPIRIT OF TLATELOLCO. I STATED MY BELIEF WE ALL SHOULD HAVE ROLE IN THIS NEW DIALOGUE. FORTUNATELY THIS IS THE CASE WITH RESPECT GUYANA AND BAHAMAS. I ASKED CASTRO IF HE WILLING ATTEND NEXT MFM. AFTER SERIOUS THOUGHT HE TOLD ME CUBA WILLING ATTEND.
- B. LATER I ASKED IF CUBA WOULD COME WITH CONSTRUCTIVE CONFIDENTIAL.

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ATTITUDE. HE TOLD ME, ALMOST PROMISED ME, IF CUBA INVITED THEY WOULD COME WITHOUT ATTACKING OR GIVING OFFENSE TO OTHERS BUT IN SPIRIT COOPERATION.

C. CHARTERS OF UN AND OAS BASED ON UNIVERSALITY. IN THIS HEMISPHERE WE SHOULD BE 27 INCLUDING CANADA AND CUBA. I THINK TIME HAS COME FOR DIALOGUE. I HOPE THIS IS NOT DIALOGUE BETWEEN U.S. AND LA AS COUNTERWEIGHTS; THAT WE

ALL SPEAK TOGETHER FOR OURSELVES AND AMONG OURSELVES TO BUILD BETTER RELATIONSHIP. NOTWITHSTANDING MONETARY, TRADE, HEALTH, FOOD, ILLITERACY PROBLEMS, ALL WORKING TOGETHER CAN BRING SOLUTIONS.

- D. MEXICO PROPOSES EMPHATICALLY AND CONCRETELY CUBA BE INVITED ATTEND NEXT MFM AT BUENOS AIRES.
- 4. FM DE LA FLOR (PERU): PERU WISHES EMPHASIZE PRESENTATIONS VIGNES AND RABASA REFLECT CLEAR REALITY. THERE IS NO DOUBT CUBA IS REALITY AND PROBLEM WHICH AFFECTS OUR DEVELOPMENT. TWO PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN MADE: (1) THAT THOSE WHO WISH TO DO SO REESTABLISH RELATIONS; AND (2) THAT CUBA BE INVITED TO MFM AT BUENOS AIRES. PERU AGREES WITH BOTH. PERU HAS GOOD RELATIONS WITH CUBA SINCE 1972. I HAVE SPOKEN WITH CUBA'S LEADERS WHO EXPRESS DESIRE JOIN HEMISPHERE AND WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY. WE CANNOT DENY REALITY. CUBA WORKS CONSTRUCTIVELY IN UN AND VARIETY OF LA BODIES, E.G., OLADE AND RECENT LA MEETING WITH EC HELD IN URUGUAY. THEREFORE, CONTRADICTORY NOT ACCEPT CUBA'S PRESENCE THIS BODY AND OTHER LA ORGANIZATIONS LIKE CECLA.
- 5. FM AZEREDO (BRAZIL): BRAZIL HAS LISTENED CAREFULLY TO COLLEAGUE'S OPINIONS. BRAZIL WILL RESOLVE ITS PROBLEMS IN CONTEXT OF NATIONAL INTERESTS OF BRAZIL. COEXISTENCE EXISTS ON BASIS MUTUAL RESPECT. I WILL WISH TO REPLY AND DEAL WITH THIS SUBJECT DURING TODAY'S LUNCHEON.
- 6. FM HUERTA (CHILE): CHILE HAS ALSO LISTENED WITH INTEREST. RE LIFTING SANCTIONS AND RETURNING CUBA TO I-A SYSTEM, CHILE HAS RECENT AND CONCRETE BACKGROUND. CUBA SAYS ONE THING AND DOES ANOTHER WITH RESPECT INTERCONFIDENTIAL

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VENTION. IF CUBA INVITED TO NEXT MFM, CHILE WILL PRESENT INFO WHICH WILL BE VALUABLE TO OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE CUBA PROBLEM.

- 7. SECRETARY KISSINGER: AS CHAIRMAN US DEL LET ME MAKE BRIEF STATEMENT. IT SEEMS OBVIOUS THERE IS NO CONSENSUS, AND IF WE ENTER COMPLETE DEBATE I WOULD HAVE TO PRESENT WELL-KNOWN U.S. POINT OF VIEW. THEREFORE, I SUGGEST WE DEFER REMAINDER OF DEBATE FOR NEXT MEETING IN BUENOS AIRES. RE INVITATIONS I SUGGEST DECISION ON BASIS OF CONSENSUS AND BASED ON FULL CONSULTATION WITH FMS BY FM VIGNES WHO WILL BE HOST.
- 8. FM VIGNES (ARGENTINA): THERE ARE TWO VIEWS RE NEXT MFM: THAT IT SHOULD BE IN OCTOBER OR IN MARCH BECAUSE OF

SOME ELECTIONS IN THE FALL. SECRETARY KISSINGER SUGGESTED I CONSULT EACH OF YOU. IF GIVEN THIS MISSION, I WOULD ACCEPT IT.

- 9. FM RABASA: I AGREE WITH VIGNES AND SUGGEST WE AUTHORIZE ARGENTINA AS PRO TEM TO CARRY OUT CONSULTATIONS AND REPORT TO US.
- 10. SECRETARY KISSINGER: AT MEXICO'S REQUEST, IS THERE CONSENSUS ARGENTINA SHALL BE PRO TEM AND CHARGED WITH CONSULTATIONS? DO I REFLECT THE VIEWS AND DOES THIS RESOLVE THE ISSUE? VERY WELL, THEN WE PROCEED ON THIS BASIS. I MUST LEAVE AND SUGGEST WHEN WE REASSEMBLE AT 12:45 WE DISCUSS THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE AND ALSO DISCUSS WHETHER ADDITIONAL SPEAKERS WISH TO SPEAK (ON CUBA) OR DEFER SPEECHES TO A FULL DEBATE (IN BUENOS AIRES).
- 11. FM VAZQUEZ (COLOMBIA): GOC PROPOSES FMS ALSO BE CONSULTED RE INVITATION TO CANADA FOR NEXT MFM. WOULD IT BE APPROPRIATE INCLUDE THIS IN COMMUNIQUE?
- 12. FM RABASA: WE HAVE ACHIEVED CONSENSUS, BUT FOR THE RECORD, THERE WILL BE CONSULTATIONS RE CUBA AND WHATEVER ELSE FMS WANT.
- 13. SECRETARY KISSINGER: COULD I BE PRESENT WHEN DISCONFIDENTIAL.

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CUSSION OF CUBA CONTINUES? RE CANADA ARE WE AGREED? AS SECRETARY, I INQUIRED OF CANADA BEFORE THIS MFM AND CANADA HAS NOT YET MADE UP ITS MIND. THEREFORE IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE INCLUDE MENTION OF CANADA IN COMMUNIQUE. RE CUBA, I ALSO PREFER NO MENTION IN COMMUNIQUE BUT FMS CAN MENTION IT TO PRESS. I ASK FURTHER DISCUSSION CUBA BE DEFERRED UNTIL LUNCH OR THIS AFTERNOON.

- 14. FM RABASA: THERE IS A CONSENSUS TO CONSULT ON CUBA. I ALSO SUGGEST IT BE LEFT OUT OF THE COMMUNIQUE.
- 15. FM VIGNES: I FEEL CONSENSUS RE CONSULTATIONS ACHIEVED. I ALSO FEEL CUBA SHOULD NOT BE IN COMMUNIQUE, IT IS TOO CONTROVERSIAL.
- 16. FM SCHACHT (VENEZUELA): VENEZUELA AGREES THAT CONSENSUS APPROVED BUT GOV WISHES GO ON RECORD IT WOULD VIEW FAVORABLY INVITATION TO CUBA.
- 17. REMAINDER OF THURSDAY MORNING SESSION FOLLOWING DEPARTURE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER IN SEPTEL. KISSINGER

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